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PAGE 01 KIGALI 04864 01 OF 03 251301Z
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01
	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-00	/024W		

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O 251259Z NOV 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2341
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 04864

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW
SUBJECT: ARUSHA DELAYS

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: IN LIGHT OF NON PROGRESS IN ARUSHA,
COL. MARLEY IS INVITED TO KIGALI FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH
GOR AND WITH RPF IN BYUMBA. GOMN AND GOR WILL

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 04864 01 OF 03 251301Z
FACILITATE. RPF REFUSAL TO TALK MILITARY INTEGRATION
SEEMS PARALLEL OR RELATED TO HARDENING OF POLITICAL
POSITIONS INTERNALLY, WHILE BISHOPS CONTINUE
THANKLESS TASK OF TRYING TO BRING INTERNAL FACTIONS
TOGETHER. UNTIL SITUATION CLARIFIES, I SUGGEST THE
U.S. NOT SEND THE NEXT OBSERVER OR OBSERVERS TO
ARUSHA. END SUMMARY.

U.S. OBSERVER

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3. IN LIGHT OF THE REFUSAL OF THE RPF TO DISCUSS THE INTEGRATION OF THE ARMIES AT THIS SESSION, U.S. OBSERVER, LT. COL. ANTHONY MARLEY, PROPOSES TO COME TO KIGALI FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH RWANDAN OFFICIALS AND FOR AN OPPORTUNITY TO CROSS THE LINES WITH OAU OBSERVERS AND MEET WITH RPF MILITARY LEADERS.

4. WE HAVE SECURED THE AGREEMENT OF THE GOMN TO FACILITATE THE MEETING WITH THE RPF. WE HAVE ALSO OBTAINED SPECIFIC AGREEMENT OF MINISTER OF DEFENSE JAMES GASANA, AND HAVE RECEIVED AGREEMENT, IN PRINCIPLE, OF DIRECTOR OF THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET ENOCH RUHIGIRA. GASANA COMMITTED HIMSELF TO INFORM THE PRIME MINISTER. GASANA SEEKS ONLY THE CHANCE TO HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO TALK WITH MARLEY AFTER HIS VISIT WITH THE RPF. I HAVE AGREED THAT WE WOULD FACILITATE SUCH A MEETING.

5. I HAVE ALSO INFORMED FRENCH AMBASSADOR MARTRES OF
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PAGE 03 KIGALI 04864 01 OF 03 251301Z
OUR INTENTION TO ENCOURAGE THE PROCESS WITH A MARLEY VISIT TO BOTH PARTIES. MARTRES INITIALLY SEEMED A LITTLE DUBIOUS, BUT THEN DECIDED THAT RPF WILLINGNESS TO RECEIVE MARLEY VIA BYUMBA WOULD OFFER SOME ASSURANCE THAT THE RPF IS NOT NOW PLANNING A MAJOR ATTACK.

WHAT HAPPENED?

6. THE SIMPLEST EXPLANATION OF THE RPF UNWILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS MILITARY ISSUES THIS WEEK IS A BREAKDOWN IN COMMUNICATIONS WITHIN THE RPF, MEANING THAT THEY WEREN'T READY, OR DIDN'T GET THE WORD ON TIME OF THE RWANDA REQUEST TO BE ABLE TO GET READY. IT IS TO BE HOPED THAT THIS SIMPLE EXPLANATION IS WHAT HAPPENED.

7. A MORE SUBSTANTIVE, AND PROBABLY MORE LIKELY EXPLANATION, IS THAT THE RPF, IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH ITS INTERNAL ALLIES IN THE PL AND MDR, EITHER REASSESSED THE HABYARIMANA MOTIVATIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE PRESIDENT'S NOVEMBER 15 SPEECH AND THE DETERIORATING SECURITY SITUATION, OR DECIDED ON AN

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EFFORT NOW TO PUT MAXIMUM PRESSURE ON THE MRND. THE
DECISION COULD BE A COMBINATION OF THE TWO, AND COULD
WELL INCLUDE A MILITARY COMPONENT TO BACK UP THE
APPARENT HARDLINE ON THE POLITICAL. THE WORST CASE
SCENARIO WOULD BE A SERIOUS THREAT TO THE CEASEFIRE
WHICH IN THE PRESENT TENSE POLITICAL SITUATION INSIDE
OF RWANDA WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY LEAD TO MAJOR

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PAGE 04 KIGALI 04864 01 OF 03 251301Z
VIOLENCE AGAINST TUTSIS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

8. PL LEADER MUGENZI TOLD ME THAT THE RPF HAD SIMPLY
CONCLUDED THAT IF THE GOR COULD NOT GET ITS ACT
TOGETHER IN THREE WEEKS, IT MAY NEVER MAKE IT, HENCE
THERE IS LITTLE POINT IN PURSUING THE OTHER ISSUES
UNTIL AND UNLESS A CONSENSUS IS REACHED ON THE
POWER-SHARING ISSUE.

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 04864 02 OF 03 251303Z
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PARTY POSITIONS HARDENING

9. ON NOVEMBER 24, THE PRESIDENTS OF THE FOUR
OPPOSITION PARTIES IN THE GOVERNMENT, MDR, PL, PSD
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PAGE 02 KIGALI 04864 02 OF 03 251303Z
AND PDC CAME TO SEE ME AND THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR. IN
THE MOST STRIDENT AND AGGRESSIVE STATEMENT THEY HAVE
MADE IN THE PAST SIX MONTHS, THEY ACCUSED PRESIDENT
HABYARIMANA OF HAVING "DECLARED WAR ON THE PEOPLE OF
RWANDA". THEY SAID THEY HAD NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO
RESPOND IN KIND TO THE ATTACKS BY THE INTERAHAMWE,
THAT IS THE MRND YOUTH, AND THEN ASKED FOR MY ADVISE,
KNOWING FULL WELL THAT I WOULD COUNSEL AGAINST ANY
VIOLENCE ON THE PART OF THE OPPOSITION PARTIES. THE
FRENCH AMBASSADOR GAVE THE SAME ADVICE. THE PARTIES'
PURPOSE WAS TO PERSUADE THE FRENCH AND THE AMERICANS
TO PUT PRESSURE ON HABYARIMANA TO DISBAND THE
INTERAHAMWE AND TO YIELD ON THE POLITICAL POINTS AT
ISSUE. THE PARTIES THREATENED THE FRENCH TO PUBLICLY
CALL FOR WITHDRAWAL OF THE FRENCH MILITARY ASSISTANCE
GROUP IF HE DID NOT SUCCEED IN CHANGING HABYARIMANA'S
POSITION| AMBASSADOR MARTRES IS CONCERNED. UNTIL
NOW THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENT HAVE BEEN
UNITED IN ASKING THE FRENCH TO STAY. IF THE PRIME
MINISTER NOW GOES ALONG WITH HIS PARTY, THE FRENCH
POSITION WILL BECOME ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE. WORSE,
ACCORDING TO MARTRES, THE ARMY WILL SEE THE
OPPOSITION MOVE AS AN ACT OF HOSTILITY TOWARD THE
ARMY, AND THIS WILL FURTHER POLARIZE THE POLITICAL

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SCENE, POSSIBLY LEADING TO GREATER VIOLENCE AGAINST THE OPPOSITION PARTIES.

10 I HAVE SUGGESTED TO BOTH SIDES OVER THE LAST TWO OR THREE WEEKS THAT ONE WAY TO REDUCE THE VIOLENCE AND DEVELOP SOME CONFIDENCE BETWEEN THEM WOULD BE TO SUSPEND THE OPERATIONS OF THEIR YOUTH MOVEMENTS.

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 04864 02 OF 03 251303Z
UNTIL LATE LAST WEEK, THE MDR REFUSED TO EVEN CONSIDER IT. BUT YESTERDAY, MDR PRESIDENT TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID HE WOULD AGREE, FINALLY, IF THE MRND INTERAHAMWE WOULD ALSO BE DISBANDED OR DISMANTLED. HE CLAIMS THE MRND WILL NOT ACCEPT SUCH A MOVE. IT IS MY HOPE THAT THE BISHOPS IN THEIR MEETINGS WITH THE PARTIES WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE THIS LINE, WHICH SEEMED TO HAVE SOME RESONANCE WHEN THEY MET WITH THE PARTIES ON NOVEMBER 16.

THE BISHOPS MOVE SLOWLY

11. THE BISHOPS MET FINALLY WITH OPPOSITION LEADERS NOVEMBER 24, THEN SCHEDULED A MEETING FOR NOVEMBER 25 WITH THE PRESIDENT AND THE PARTY LEADERS. PLANNED FOR 10:00 A.M., IT STILL HAD NOT HAPPENED BY NOON. DELAYS HAVE BEEN CAUSED BY OPPOSITION LEADERS REFUSAL TO MEET WITH ALL SIXTEEN PARTIES, THEIR REFUSAL TO MEET AT THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE, AND THEIR SUSPICION, ON THE BASIS OF PUBLIC STATEMENTS FROM THE PRESIDENCY, THAT THE BISHOPS HAVE TAKEN MRND COLORS.

12. COMMENT: IN SPITE OF THEIR SLOWNESS AND APPARENT INEPTITUDE, THE BISHOPS ARE THE ONLY GAME IN TOWN. UNTIL THEY COMPLETE THEIR EFFORTS AT DEFINING THE MORAL DIMENSION OF THE PROBLEM, THERE IS LITTLE HOPE FOR OTHER INTERVENTIONS, ALTHOUGH INFORMAL EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE DIALOGUE WILL CONTINUE.

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PAGE 04 KIGALI 04864 02 OF 03 251303Z

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13. A MARLEY VISIT THROUGH THE CEASEFIRE LINES WILL HAVE A POSITIVE SYMBOLIC IMPACT AT A TIME WHEN OTHER LINES OF PROGRESS ARE BLOCKED. BUT I TEND TO AGREE WITH MUGENZI AND MARTRES THAT REAL PROGRESS ON THE MILITARY IS UNLIKELY UNTIL THE BASIC SHAPE OF A GOVERNMENT COMPROMISE EMERGES.

14. I SUGGEST AMBASSADOR BRYNN REMAIN IN WASHINGTON UNTIL WE GET A CLEAR SIGNAL THAT THE ARUSHA PROCESS

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